/290 cont./

356 [136] [231] Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores), the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

[514] Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot, producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 515 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

• [514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young
[534] men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3,
[533] c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

*[192] They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

• [514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75):

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

789 During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
824 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
*[192] to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiaa* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[a] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[a] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).